

The Classical Weekly

Published on Monday, October 1 to May 31, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday (Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Washington's Birthday, Easter Sunday, Decoration Day). Place of Publication, Barnard College, New York City. In United States of America, \$2.00 per volume; elsewhere, \$2.50. Address all communications to Charles Knapp, at 1737 Sedgwick Avenue, New York City.

Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized June 28, 1918.

VOL. XXII, No. 13

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1929

WHOLE No. 597

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AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

NEW YORK

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THE SHIPS IN LAKE NEMI¹

It is my purpose in this paper to give a concise summary of the history of the two Roman ships in Lake Nemi.

Although, apparently, there is in classical literature no mention—at least no certain mention—of the ships, there are many descriptions of the lake. Lake Nemi is about fifteen miles southeast of Rome, close to the Appian Way. In his account of his journey from Rome to Brundisium, Horace (*Sermones* 1. 5.1) speaks of Aricia as the first stopping-place. Strabo (5.3.2) says that Lake Nemi is 'on the left of the road as you leave Aricia'. Lucan (3.86, 6.74) and Servius² also speak of the location of the Lake.

The Roman name of the lake was Lacus Nemorensis. It is evident that in ancient times the hills about the lake were heavily wooded; to-day they are not. Lucan (6.76) and Martial³ speak of the Lake as *nemoralis*. Strabo (5.3.2) describes it as resembling a sea surrounded by high mountains. Ovid (*Fasti* 3.263–264) writes of the lake thus: . . . *vallis Aricinae silvae praecinctus opaca est lacus antiqua religione sacer*. . . In *Met.* 15. 488 he says, *vallis Aricinae densis latet abdita silvis*⁴.

The ancients called the lake *Speculum Dianae*⁵; it is now called *Lo Specchio di Diana*. This is a living reminder of the fact that a most important association of the lake in classical times was with the cult of Diana. Macaulay, in *The Battle of Lake Regillus*, reminds us of this:

. . . Beneath Aricia's trees,
Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghostly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer
And shall himself be slain.

Orestes⁶, so the story goes, together with Iphigenia, priestess of Diana, took the image of Diana to Aricia, and there established the worship of the goddess. Hippolytus, after Asclepius had restored him to life, was brought to Nemi by Diana to live there the rest of his days, in hiding, under the name Virbius. Since Hippolytus was a runaway, the priest in charge of the temple was thereafter always a runaway slave who gained his office by murdering his predecessor⁷. The

preliminary procedure is described by Servius (on *Aeneid* 6.136): ' . . . There was a certain tree from which it was forbidden to break a branch, but runaway slaves might do so, provided that, if anyone did succeed in tearing off a branch, he was to fight the runaway priest of the temple . . . ' With reference to this, Ovid, in the *Ars Amatoria*⁸, says: *Ecce suburbanae templum nemorale Dianae, partaque per gladios regna nocente manu* . . .

W. Warde Fowler remarks⁹ that "the fact that <Diana> was the chief local deity of Aricia, the leading city of the new league, . . . brought her suddenly into notice . . . Diana of the Aventine, when she first arrived there, was the wood-spirit of Aricia . . . "

Remains of the Temple of Diana at Nemi have been excavated, and are described in the *Notizie Degli Scavi* (1895, 1896, *passim*). Diana's priest was called *rex*. This fact is thought by Frazer¹⁰ to show that there had once been a king at Aricia who, at some time, was shorn of everything but his religious powers and his title. It is interesting to note that Frazer bases his *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* on the cult of Diana at Nemi, and that his great work, *The Golden Bough*, takes its name from the branch of the sacred oak at Nemi.

Let us turn now to the ships in the Lake of Nemi.

Hundreds of years ago, natives of the village of Nemi reported that they had seen two large ships on the bottom of the lake, near the shore. Since the bed of the lake is a volcanic crater, the bed is uneven, so that the ships are not on an even keel. The ship nearer the shore is from fifteen to fifty feet below the surface; the other is from fifty to sixty-five feet under the water. The larger ship is 233 feet long, 80½ feet wide; the other is 210 feet long, 65½ feet wide. The significance of these figures is three-fold. First, the ships are so large that they could not have been sailed in Lake Nemi, which is only about four miles in circumference. Secondly, they are only about three times as long as they are wide; the length of Roman sailing vessels was seven times the width. Thirdly, they compare favorably in size with transatlantic ships of forty years or so ago.

In 1430, interest in the ships led to a summons to Leone Battista Alberti (called *The Vitruvius of Florence*) to attempt to raise them. Cardinal Prosper Colonna sponsored the project. Equipped with the very latest diving apparatus of the fifteenth century, and using hoists mounted on a raft¹¹ supported by barrels, Alberti succeeded only in tearing off part of the

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Princeton University, May 18–19, 1928.

²On Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.515–516.

³13.19.1. Compare also Ovid, *Fasti* 6.59.

⁴We have a similar reference in Propertius 3.22.25, if we accept there the reading of Professor A. E. Housman, cited by Hosius in the Teubner text: *Albanus lacus et foliis Nemorensis abundans*. . . Hosius himself reads *Albanus lacus et socia Nemorensis ab unda* . . .

⁵Servius on *Aeneid* 7. 515–516.

⁶See Ovid, *Met.* 15. 480, *Fasti* 6.755–756; Servius on *Aeneid* 6.136; Solinus 2. 11; Hyginus 261; Vergil, *Aeneid* 7. 761–782; Pausanias 2. 27. 4.

⁷Pausanias 2. 27. 4. For an interesting discussion of the cult of Diana at Nemi see Sir James G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, 9–15 (London, Macmillan, 1905).

⁸1.259–260. See also Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 2. 305. ⁹The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 235 (London, Macmillan, 1911).

¹⁰Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Abridged Edition, 1–6 (London, Macmillan, 1912).

¹¹For an interesting picture of this raft see *Emporium* 59 (1924), 387 (Bergamo, Italy).

bow of the ship nearer the shore. The court of Pope Eugenius the Fourth was assembled to see the experiment. At this time lead pipes were discovered which connected the ship with the shore; they were, perhaps, designed to conduct a supply of fresh water to those on board. Inscriptions on these pipes, which are now to be seen in the Museo Delle Terme, at Rome, led to the belief that Tiberius had built the ships. Evidence now points to Caligula as the builder¹².

In 1535, Francesco Da Marchi made a second attempt to raise the vessels. His new diving apparatus enabled a man to stay under water nearly an hour. Da Marchi succeeded only in doing considerable damage to the wreck of the ship near the shore. During the winter of 1535-1536, when he was forced to suspend his work, thieves stole most of his equipment.

In 1827, Annesio Fusconi had no better success, perhaps because he spent half of his funds in providing a grand stand from which spectators might watch his efforts.

In 1895, the first intelligent work was done by expert divers, under official supervision. Floats were attached all around the hull of the wreck nearer the shore; thus an excellent outline of the hull was produced on the surface of the lake. It was found that heavy deposits of silt had accumulated on the decks, and that the timbers of both ships had rotted. Salvage in the ordinary way was, therefore, impossible.

In 1924, Corrado Ricci pointed out, in a popular article in *Emporium* (59. 373-392), that salvage could be effected only if the lake were drained. To-day this is being attempted. Salomon Reinach¹³ has made the ingenious suggestion that Suetonius really mentions the ships, in a passage that has, so far, been variously interpreted. Suetonius says (Caligula 37.2) that Caligula had built ships in which he sailed along the coast of Campania (*ibidem*, 54). Now Caligula is known to have been afraid of the water (*ibidem*); it is unlikely that he would have ventured to trust himself even to coastwise craft. Caligula is also known to have been interested in Nemi; when he found that a certain priest of Diana had remained there a long time he supplied a stronger adversary and had him removed in the usual way (*ibidem*, 35). Let us suppose, then, that the ships were built one spring at Caligula's order, to serve as palatial houseboats, with some connection, too, with the cult of Diana. Such unwieldy, topheavy craft as these were (see the descriptions below) might well have failed to ride out the storms of even a single winter. The tradition of their existence reached Suetonius, we may assume further, in a distorted state. In Caligula 37. 2, he writes thus of the so-called coastwise ships:

...Fabricavit <Caligula> et derceris Liburnicas, gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum et porticum et tricliniorum laxitate magnaue etiam vitium et pomiferarum arborum varietate, quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac symphonias litora Campaniae peragaret. . . .

Professor John C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library) translates this passage as follows:

... He also built Liburnian galleys with ten banks of oars, with sterns set with gems, particoloured sails, huge spacious baths, colonnades, and banquet-halls, and even a great variety of vines and fruit trees; that on board of them he might recline at table from an early hour, and coast along the shores of Campania amid songs and choruses. . . .¹⁴

I shall now give a quotation from Lanciani¹⁵, who believed that the ships were used in connection with the cult of Diana. He describes as follows the findings of the divers in 1895:

... The deck itself must have been a marvellous sight to behold. The fanciful naval engineer who designed and built these floating palaces must have been allowed to follow the most extravagant flights of his imagination without regard to time and expense. The deck is paved with disks of porphyry and serpentine not thicker than a quarter of an inch, framed in segments and lines of white, gold, red, and green enamel. The parapets and railing are cast in metal and heavily gilded; lead pipes inscribed with the name of Caligula carried the water to the fountains playing amidships and mixing their spray with the gentle waters of the lake. There are other rich decorations, the place of which in the general plan of the vessel has not yet been made clear.

The excellent quality of the works of art which have been recovered from the ships is striking. For the most part these objects are in the Museo Delle Terme, at Rome. A good illustration of them is given by Lanciani (page 212).

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AGAIN LIVY 21.37. 2-3¹

An interesting allusion to Hannibal's alleged use of fire and vinegar as aids to clearing natural obstacles from his path in his passage of the Alps (Livy 21.37. 2-3) is to be found in a work called *De Re Metallica*, a sixteenth century Latin treatise on mining and metallurgical history, by one Georg Bauer (Georgius Agricola), a German physician and scholar. This work is of special interest now in that it was translated into English for the first time by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover. The translation appeared in a beautiful folio edition (pages xxxii + 640), under the title "*Georgius Agricola De Re Metallica*, Translated from the First Latin Edition of 1556 with Biographical Introduction, Annotations and Appendices upon the Development of Mining Methods, Metallurgical Processes, Geology, Mineralogy and Mining, Law from the earliest times to the 16th century. . . ." The work was published for the translators in London, by The Mining Society, in 1912².

¹²On the shore of Lake Nemi was the villa which Julius Caesar was said to have destroyed because it did not suit him (Suetonius, Julius 46).

¹³Rodolfo Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, 212 (New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1902).

¹⁴For discussions of this passage see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15.168, 16.73-76, 96, 128, 18.88. C. K. >.

¹⁵This work was highly praised by Professor H. R. Fairclough in a review published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.182-183 (April 8, 1916). C. K. >.

¹²The Nemi inscriptions are to be found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.2212-2226, 4182-4210, 4268-4275.

¹³*Révue Archéologique*, 4^e Serie, 14 (1909), 177-187.

In the *De Re Metallica*, Book 5, there is a discussion of methods of 'fire-setting' as aids to breaking rock. In the translation, 118-120, this runs as follows:

As I have just said, fire shatters the hardest rocks, but the method of its application is not simple. For if a vein held in the rocks cannot be hewn out because of the hardness or other difficulty, and the drift or tunnel is low, a heap of dried logs is placed against the rock and fired; if the drift or tunnel is high, two heaps are necessary, of which one is placed above the other, and both burn until the fire has consumed them. This force does not generally soften a large portion of the vein, but only some of the surface. When the rock in the hanging or footwall can be worked by the iron tools and the vein is so hard that it is not tractable to the same tools, then the walls are hollowed out; if this be in the end of the drift or tunnel or above or below, the vein is then broken by fire, but not by the same method; for if the hollow is wide, as many logs are piled into it as possible, but if narrow, only a few. By the one method the greater fire separates the vein more completely from the footwall or sometimes from the hangingwall, and by the other, the smaller fire breaks away less of the vein from the rock, because in that case the fire is confined and kept in check by portions of the rock which surround the wood held in such a narrow excavation. Further, if the excavation is low, only one pile of logs is placed in it, if high, there are two, one placed above the other, by which plan the lower bundle being kindled sets alight the upper one; and the fire being driven by the draught into the vein, separates it from the rock which, however hard it may be, often becomes so softened as to be the most easily breakable of all. Applying this principle, Hannibal, the Carthaginian General, imitating the Spanish miners, overcame the hardness of the Alps by the use of vinegar and fire.

Mr. Hoover's note³ on this passage is well worth quoting at length (118-119):

Fire-setting as an aid to breaking rock is of very ancient origin, and moreover it persisted in certain German and Norwegian mines down to the end of the 19th century—270 years after the first application of explosives to mining. The first specific reference to fire-setting in mining is by Agatharides (2nd century B. C.) whose works are not extant, but who is quoted by both Diodorus Siculus and Photius, for which statement see note 8, p. 279 Pliny. (<Naturalis Historia> XXXIII, 21) says: "Occasionally a kind of silex is met with, which must be broken with fire and vinegar, or as the tunnels are filled with suffocating fumes and smoke, they frequently use bruising machines, carrying 150 *librae* of iron". This combination of fire and vinegar he again refers to (XXXIII, 27) where he dilates in the same sentence on the usefulness of vinegar for breaking rock and for salad dressing. This myth about breaking rock with fire and vinegar is of more than usual interest, and its origin seems to be in the legend that Hannibal thus broke through the Alps. Livy (59 B. C., 17 A. D.) seems to be the first to produce this myth in writing; and, in any event, by Pliny's time (23-79 A. D.) it had become an established method—in literature. Livy (XXI, 37) says, in connection with Hannibal's crossing of the Alps: "They set fire to it (the timber) when a wind had arisen suitable to excite the fire, then when the rock was hot it was crumbled by pouring on vinegar (*infuso aceto*). In this manner the cliff heated by the fire was broken by iron tools, and the declivities eased by turnings, so that not only the beasts of burden but also the elephants could be led down". Hannibal crossed the

Alps in 218 B. C. and Livy's account was written 200 years later, by which time Hannibal's memory among the Romans was generally surrounded by Herculean fables. Be this as it may, by Pliny's time the vinegar was generally accepted, and has been ceaselessly debated ever since. Nor has the myth ceased to grow, despite the remarks of Gibbon, Lavalette, and others. A recent historian (Hennebert, *Histoire d'Annibal* II, p. 253) of that famous engineer and soldier, soberly sets out to prove that inasmuch as literal acceptance of ordinary vinegar is impossible, the Phoenecians <sic!> must have possessed some mysterious high explosive. A still more recent biographer swallows this argument *in toto*. (Morris, "Hannibal", London, 1903, p. 103). A study of the commentators of this passage, although it would fill a volume with sterile words, would disclose one generalization: That the real scholars have passed over the passage with the comment that it is either a corruption or an old woman's tale, but that the hosts of soldiers who set about the biography of famous generals and campaigns, almost to a man take the passage seriously, and seriously explain it by way of the rock being limestone, or snow, or by the use of explosives, or other foolishness. It has been proposed, although there are grammatical objections, that the text is slightly corrupt and <that it must have> read *infosso acuto*, instead of *infuso aceto*, in which case all becomes easy from a mining point of view⁴. If so, however, it must be assumed that the corruption occurred during the 20 years between Livy and Pliny....

At the very end of Book 2 of the *De Re Metallica* (page 42 of the Hoover edition) there is a quotation of a part of Pliny, N. H. 33.31, which refers to Hannibal's silver mines in Spain. These were still worked in Pliny's day and in some cases by their names recalled Hannibal's domination there.

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JOHN W. SPAETH, Jr.

REVIEWS

The Aeneid of Vergil, Books I-VI, Selections VII-XII, With an Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. Revised Edition. By Charles Knapp. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company (1928). Pp. 646 + 202. \$1.96.

The Aeneid of Vergil, Books I-VI, and The Metamorphoses of Ovid, Selections, With Introductions, Notes, and Vocabulary. Revised Edition. By Charles Knapp. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company (1928). Pp. 646 + 202. \$1.96.

I

The reviewer's opinion of the preceding version of Professor Knapp's edition of Vergil was that the version was so nearly perfect that he could not imagine himself teaching Vergil from any other edition. But in the revision of this splendid text-book we have a work that differs from the ideal "by less than any assignable quantity", as the mathematicians say. In the Preface (4) we read:

Every line of the earlier Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary has been scrutinized repeatedly, with minutest care; innumerable changes and additions have been made. The work has been set up in type exactly as if the volume of 1901 were not in existence....

<⁴Not being a miner or an engineer, I fail to make out what *infosso acuto* means. C. K.>.

³In the Translators' Preface, ii, we read: "There are no footnotes in the original text, and Mr. Hoover is responsible for them all".

The approach of the editor to the poem is along the absolutely orthodox line of knowing the poem by intimate study of the poem itself. We have in the editor, in the first place, one who loves the author whose work he is editing. This devotion to poem and poet is an absolute *sine qua non* of successful editing; Professor Knapp's love for Vergil is apparent on every page. To this love for Vergil are added the literary appreciation properly to evaluate the work, and the ripe scholarship to criticize and interpret it.

Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary have been considerably expanded from the original editions (1901, Vergil, 1923 and 1925, Ovid. See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.192-193). Thirty pages have been added to the Introduction; the additional information there given is of the utmost value for comment, elucidation, and appreciation. Teacher or pupil who masters this Introduction will know his Roman history, Roman politics, and Roman literature adequately for the purpose of understanding the vitally important period in which the poem was written. He will know the mythology of the poem. He will know the Vergilian grammar, rhetoric, and prosody. The Vocabulary is enlarged by twenty-seven pages. This increment is not due merely to the words in Ovid not found in Vergil, but to a rich store of additional information concerning various words. The Vocabulary is a brilliant success, a real set of working tools for the pupil.

We miss the valuable Index (70 pages); its exclusion was doubtless felt to be necessary to avoid undue bulk. But the new material added is probably more valuable than an Index, for, when all is said, the Index would have been used mainly or only by the teacher. Its place is measurably filled by the abundant cross-references.

The notes, as a whole, most admirably fulfill their mission. Never has so much and so valuable information been condensed into so small a compass. They are clarity itself (with possibly a very few exceptions).

I will discuss in detail some points in the notes on Aeneid I-VI, about some of which I differ from the editor.

In 1.85-86 the blowing of all the winds at once is very possibly more than mere poetry. Vergil was, of course, familiar with the fierce whirling storms of the Mediterranean, which Italian sailors now call 'trompe marine'. He therefore makes Aeneas run into one of these 'twisters', where the winds shift so swiftly as to convince any ship-master from the Near-East that they were really all blowing at once. In 1.109 Vergil may have thought of the dangerous rocks (*Aras*) as altars on which victims were sacrificed by the sea-gods. Vergil's anachronism in 1.169 was almost certainly not a poetic writing-down to his audience, but thoroughly unconscious. Archaeology was then an unknown science; the poet knew nothing of the stone anchors of the Homeric age. For *remigium* (1.301) the definition 'sweep' might well have been given in the Vocabulary. It is a common term in oarsmanship; it is used, too, in ornithology, of the heavy flight of large birds. A very large oar is technically known as a 'sweep'. The notes on 1.393-400 have been expanded to great

advantage. One detail only is not mentioned: *agmine*, rendered by "ordered array", is the well-known >, the wedge formation in which water-fowl habitually fly, indeed a splendidly ordered array. Vergil was a keen and accurate observer of nature. The circling of water-fowl over an intended feeding ground, until they see their congeners occupied and unmolested (in our day, alas! they usually see decoys), is brilliantly described. In 1.552 *stringere* probably refers not merely to stripping off the leaves and twigs, which would leave a sorry apology for an oar, but to 'shaving' the oars down to shape: the very implement with which this is done (reference is to home-made, not factory-made oars) is known as a spoke-shave. Aeneas's fair complexion and golden hair (1.588-593) are probably not a mere reminiscence of Homer. Dark-haired, brunette races naturally fix the blonde as the type of ideal beauty (compare *flaventis*, 4.590). The reviewer was present years ago in an Indian encampment when the mother of a beautiful golden-haired child, leading her up to an Indian woman who was nursing her own coppery, raven-locked pappoose, jestingly said "Swap?", the universal Indian *lingua franca* for 'trade'. The Indian mother eagerly held out her dark infant, and trouble was barely averted when the foolish offer was repudiated.

Professor Knapp would omit, in translation, *similis*, 1.628, and would render *fortuna* by 'misfortune'. But *similis* may well be translated. Perhaps mistakenly, the reviewer interprets *fortuna* here as including good fortune, not as misfortune only. 'My fortune', implies Dido, 'was to flee from home and country and to find here safety and a kingdom. Your fortune was to flee from home and country <so much in each case was certainly bad fortune> and to find here the safety I offer you'. 630 is intended by Dido to refer only to the earlier experiences of each. Professor Knapp renders *labores*, 1.742, by "toilsome progresses"; why not render it by 'eclipses'? These were the only irregularities the sun knew, and were, to the ancient mind, terrible adventures (*labores*) for him.

In 2.16, Vergil has used a risky word (*intexunt*): can it be that *intexo* was the regular Roman word for laying sheathing over a rigid framework? Otherwise the metaphor is strained. The interpretation of *primis ab annis*, 2.87, is an improvement over the earlier editions, and brings the verse into harmony with 2.138. In the various notes on 2.583-585 the reviewer cannot but consider "true" ("true woman") an unfortunate adjective. His first reaction was that Helen was not a 'true' woman at all, for 'true', as applied to a woman, carries an almost stereotyped compliment. Helen was false in every phase of falsity, and repeatedly false. Further consideration made it apparent that "true" was intended by Professor Knapp to mean 'real' or even 'mere', i.e. to suggest that Helen was no mere woman, but a *nefas*. It would seem, however, that we have here only the age-old injunction 'Do not strike a woman', even a bad one, whose very presence and influence, not her physical being, is a curse (*nefas*). As for Vergil's sympathy for Helen's sufferings, he must have smiled a sardonic

smile as he wrote the lines, for he knew that she was planning at that very moment to re-enmesh her former husband in her wiles and charms, if she could only manage to get home in time to betray Deiphobus to him (compare 6.520-527). Vergil seems to offer further proof of sarcastic intent in having Aeneas come upon Helen in the Temple of Vesta, for with the chaste patroness of that particular temple Helen was not even on praying terms.

To the difficult passage containing the speech of Helenus (3.374-462) the notes are well-nigh perfect. No pupil who really uses them can fail to read the passage and understand it. In 3.456 the reading of the earlier editions (no comma after *vatem*) appears preferable. The conjunction *-que* and the logic of the line seem to indicate a connection between the two verbs too close for any punctuation. In 3.455 *sinus* cannot possibly be 'folds': if your sail has a fold in it, you are no sailor. The Vocabulary (under *sinus*) gives an excellent interpretation, the swelling sail filled with the wind, and all folds smoothed out in one beautifully curving surface. The interpretation of 3.514 improves on the earlier editions: a breeze that one can hear is a living gale.

The treatment of the difficult and subtle psychology of Book 4 is beyond even carping criticism. In 5.418 why is *auctor Acestes* not merely Entellus's 'second'? Verse 451 shows that he certainly acted in that capacity. The difficult philosophical passage, 6.724-751, is clearly and delightfully explained. Here again the wayfaring youth, though a moron, need not err therein.

The selections from the final six books are admirably chosen and most satisfactorily annotated. In fact, the care with which they are treated seems almost to foreshadow a possible reading of them instead of, or at least before, the first six. This would have its practical advantages; *vide* College Entrance Board examinations for the past decade. Acquaintance of Secondary School pupils with these books is all too rare.

One more feature of the notes is worthy of attention: wherever the editor has deemed it advisable to incorporate in the note a translation of the passage under discussion, his wholly admirable renderings make us earnestly wish that we may some time have from his hand an English version of the entire poem.

To sum up, improvement on this edition of Vergil seems possible only for the same editor in some future revision, since only he could devise any way to compass it.

II

The treatment of the Vergilian portion of the Vergil-Ovid volume is identical with the treatment of the first six books of the Vergil volume. The Vocabularies are identical in both. It remains, therefore, to notice the Ovid portion only. The Special Introduction (pages 503-515) treats Ovid's life and poems, and the characteristics of the *Metamorphoses*. Twelve selections from the poem are given: I. Deucalion and Pyrrha, 1.313-415; II. Phaethon, 2.1-328; III. Cadmus, 3.1-137; IV. Pyramus and Thisbe, 4.55-166; V. Rescue of

Andromeda, 4.663-764; VI. Niobe, 6.165-312; VII. Quest of the Golden Fleece, 7.1-158; VIII. Daedalus and Icarus, 8.183-235; IX. Philemon and Baucis, 8.616-724; X. Orpheus and Eurydice, 10.1-77; XI. Atalanta's Last Race, 10.560-680; XII. Midas, 11.85-145.

We have here a transition from the splendid unity of a great epic to a rather uneven collection of short stories in verse. Many of these stories are of great beauty: indeed the editor calls the Pyramus and Thisbe selection the most perfect example of a short story ever written. This is high praise, and from a competent source. But one wonders how, in the world to come, the editor is going to make his peace with the shades of "O. Henry", Daudet, and Maupassant. Certainly the selections made are the best that could imaginably be made, and the editor's treatment of them in note and comment is unsurpassed.

The reviewer has never seen a set of notes to any classic so absolutely adequate and satisfactory as the notes in the two volumes under review. The editor seems to have projected himself into the mind of the learner, and to have foreseen every difficulty under which the latter might labor and to have resolved it for him—if the learner will only *think*. But real thinking, in these modern days of educational twaddle, when promotion has been substituted for attainment (in Public Schools at least) is the last thing the average pupil thinks of doing.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL,
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B. W. MITCHELL

The Worship of Nature. By Sir James George Frazer. Volume I. New York: The Macmillan Company (1926). Pp. XXVI + 672.

The volume here under review is the first of a new work by the author of *The Golden Bough*, who proposes in this enlargement of the Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Edinburgh, in 1924 and 1925, to deal with the worship of the sky, the earth, the sun, and with the personification and the worship of other aspects of nature, both animate and inanimate. If we interpret this statement aright, the work will include also the moon and the stars, tree worship and animal worship. In other words, the author will cover in the volumes to follow much of the material with which his great work deals.

The present 672 royal octavo pages deal with the sky, the earth, and the sun, in each instance as worshipped among the Aryan peoples of antiquity, the non-Aryan peoples of the same circle, the civilized peoples of the Far East, and the peoples of Africa. The worship of the earth is discussed for America also. The chapters on the sun take us only as far as Japan and Indonesia (China is omitted). Africa and other continents are presumably reserved for the second volume. Even so, our author states that his discussion is by no means exhaustive.

We are dealing, then, with a book typical of Sir James Frazer's treatment, that is to say, with what he understands to be the application of the scientific principle of proceeding from the complete collection of

individual instances to general conclusions. In one respect the book differs agreeably from *The Golden Bough*. It is surprisingly free from those numerous hypotheses which are there pyramided until the reader almost loses sight of what is fact and what is mere assumption. On the other hand, one feature which for the present reviewer mars so much of Sir James Frazer's work is rather obtrusive, namely the sneering tone in which the author tells the cruder tales which form much of his material (see 37, 38 [Cronus], 45 [the hail magic of Cleonae]).

It would be a bold and laborious task to discuss everything contained in the volume. For a circle of classical readers it will be best to restrict the discussion to the first chapter, the Introduction, and those chapters which deal with the Greeks and the Romans. The Introduction, after defining "natural religion" for the purposes of this work as "personification and worship of natural phenomena", restates the author's views on the development of religion. Yet, if I rightly understand him, he seems to have receded from his former position that religion has been the result of the growth of the intellect beyond the stage of pure magic. But perhaps this omission applies only to "natural religion" in the meaning given to the expression by Frazer, although it would seem to overlook the fact that the *mana* inherent in all nature objects might easily have passed over into magical power.

We read (17) that natural religion falls into two branches, the personification of natural phenomena (now commonly called *animatism*) and the worship of the dead (*animism* proper). I confess my inability to understand how this second part can be called "natural religion", "the ideas which the ancients...formed of the divine nature and its relations to the world" (13). It is not surprising, accordingly, that we read (18) that the work now in our hands will deal with nature alone, and that the discussion of the worship of the dead is reserved for still another book to be made up from the seemingly inexhaustible stock of Sir James's materials.

The chapter on sky-worship among the ancient Greeks suffers in the first place from padding. It was surely unnecessary to relate in every detail the stories of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus. The chapter suffers also from lack of acquaintance with the recent work of the historians of religion. To call Cronus a sky-god is contrary to all modern views, which are fairly unanimous in considering him a god of the harvest, who was brought into the cosmogonic relation at a comparatively late date. The review of the conceptions of Zeus is very interestingly elaborated, although, in the end, it contains no thought which had not been expressed before by the author. Even his conclusion, that Zeus far outstripped Uranus, who "remained to the last a transparent personification of the sky", is, after all, nothing but a restatement of the law formulated by Herrmann Usener in the year 1896 in his *Goetternamen*, 316 (Bonn, Friedrich Cohen). In the same way, the chapter on Roman worship merely restates what Preller, Wissowa, Carter, Fowler, and Aast had said; it adds nothing unknown before.

The same may be said of the chapters on the worship of the earth. The author, indeed, repeats his belief that Demeter was a goddess of the 'corn' rather than of the earth (318), and he omits, for unknown reasons, Semele entirely from his consideration, so that he deals with Gaia exclusively, of whom, though not to the same extent, I think, the same law of transparency holds good. I cannot agree with the statement (318) that the earth-goddess never received a large share of Greek worship. Our author himself not only quotes Plutarch's statement (*De Facie In Orbe Lunae* 22.14) about her worship as 'a custom handed down from our fathers', but also mentions the fact that Dodona, Delphi, and Olympia were ancient centers of her worship, and he states that she was invoked in oaths, together with Zeus and Helios. It is a great surprise, indeed, that the compatriot of Sir Arthur Evans and the commentator on Pausanias has no word to say about the female divinity of the Minoans, who is so generally identified with the earth, an identification last discussed by Martin P. Nilsson in *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 501-502 (Oxford University Press, 1927).

Especially disappointing is the chapter on the Roman worship of the earth; this chapter is, apparently, based entirely on secondary sources. It fails to make a clear distinction between what is certainly Italic and what is due to Greek influence. Thus, it seems inadvisable to use the statements of Lucretius and of Ennius (327, notes 5, 6) about 'earth as the universal parent and the common tomb' as expressing a purely Roman belief. It is also doubtful whether the passage quoted from Varro (328, note 6) may be adduced as testimony for the Roman belief in a marriage between Juppiter and Tellus, since divine marriages seem something foreign to genuine Roman religion. On the other hand, Frazer's treatment of the *di indigetes* of agriculture (331) shows a singularly reactionary standpoint in the sneering statement that "the minute scrupulosity of the Roman mind...relieved these overworked deities of a great part of their functions by installing a complete bureaucracy of minor divinities". Certainly, thirty years after the appearance of Usener's *Goetternamen* few scholars still doubt that the *di indigetes* really represent one of the oldest strata of religious conception (see also Ernst Cassirer, *Sprache und Mythos*, 31-35, in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg VI* [Leipzig, Teubner, 1925]). Sir James himself acknowledges this fact (491). The Temple of Tellus on the Esquiline was built after 268 B. C., and her worship was affected by Greek conceptions, as is shown by the author's own statement (338) that the festival of the goddess, on December 13, had the form of a *lectisternium*. The mention of this temple leads to a good example of the padding habit through which the author has so unduly enlarged his book; he tells in great detail of the assembly of the Senate in this temple on March 16, 44 B. C., of a scene from the fighting between Marius and Sulla, and of Varro's conversation with his friends about the excellence and the fertility of the Italian soil!

The chapter on the worship of the sun among the Greeks and the Romans is by far the longest of the three. It covers 68 pages, of which 26—as many as sufficed the author for the treatment of the sky and also for the treatment of the earth—are devoted to what is largely an abstract of Cumont's investigations into the cult of Mithra. Now, notwithstanding the overwhelming importance of Mithraism during the Empire, it can hardly be called Roman worship of the sun, any more than the cult of Isis can be called Roman worship of the moon. The same is true, of course, of the cult of Elagabalus in the early third century A. D. The plain fact is that, beyond a notice of a *Sol Indiges* (491), the possibility of connecting the name Aurelius with a Sabine word *ausel* (491), and the inferences that may be drawn from the religions of kindred peoples, we know hardly anything of the Roman worship of the sun as a genuine Roman deity. Yet Sir James Frazer devotes 38 pages to this topic! The 30 pages treating of Greek worship might likewise well have been cut down considerably, since it is not at all evident that we learn anything about religion from a description of the Colossus of Rhodes that occupies three pages and embodies a paraphrase of part of Lucian's *Iuppiter Tragoedus*, which is of no pertinence whatever.

I have dwelt on the constant padding of the discussion with irrelevant and extraneous matter because I feel that, in these days of enormously high prices of books, it behooves scholars, and particularly men of such reputation as Sir James Frazer enjoys, to do their utmost to keep their books accessible to their fellow-scholars who cannot afford to buy works in three volumes that might just as well be condensed into one.

Of course, Sir James devotes many pages to a survey of all quarters of the globe. While I am not competent to judge the value of these parts of the work, I should still urge the classicist who reads the book not to put implicit trust in the author's statements. Certainly, his treatment of the Creator-god *Mulungu* in Eastern Africa should be compared with the remarks of Cassirer in *Sprache und Mythos* (57), and with the statements of personal investigators quoted by him, and with what Karl Beth, in his *Religion und Magie*, 275-278 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927), has to say on the content of this conception: "der Grundbegriff ist derjenige von der dem Materiell-sinnlichen überlegenen Kraft".

It remains, in conclusion, to say that the book, with all the faults inherent in its author's method, is very interesting and that it furnishes a collection of materials for further critical treatment which cannot be found gathered so conveniently elsewhere.

HUNTER COLLEGE

ERNST RIESS

The Attributes of God. By Lewis Richard Farnell. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press (1925). Pp. x + 283.

Although Professor Farnell is one of the best known students of ancient religion, the contents of his book, *The Attributes of God*, comprising the Gifford Lectures, delivered at St. Andrews, in 1924-1925, really lie

largely outside the sphere of classical studies. In an introductory chapter, Dr. Farnell discusses the subject of his lectures and the method of treatment. The remaining nine chapters deal with II. Personality and Anthropomorphism (18-63); III. Polytheism and Monotheism (64-101); IV. Elemental and Natural Functions and Attributes of Divinity (102-118); V. Tribal and National Attributes and Functions of the Deity (119-136); VI. The Political Attributes of God (137-162); VII. The Moral Attributes of God (163-209); VIII. The Attributes of Beauty, Wisdom, and Truth (210-223); IX. The Attribute of Power (224-246); X. Metaphysical Attributes: Problems of the Philosophy of Religion (247-280).

It will be seen that the order of treatment involves an ascent from the lowest to the highest manifestations of the deity. To a large extent the author has to deal with the relation of religion to intellect. Here he takes a firm stand on the side of those who defend the claims of thought against the demands of belief. But he makes it also perfectly clear (5) that he considers the proper sphere of religion to be "to function, in order to give us a scale of values, which the discursive intellect is wholly powerless to give". In this respect, he agrees fully with such an authority as Karl Beth, in his *Einführung in die Vergleichende Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920) and his *Religion und Magie* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927). On the other hand, Professor Farnell appears to be still largely influenced by the views of Sir James G. Frazer as to the priority of magic over religion, and he still clings to the theory of animism, in its narrower meaning. This part of his discussion (Chapters II, III, IX) should be corrected to-day by a reading of the works of Beth quoted above, and of the interesting monographs of the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, entitled *Die Begriffsform im Mythischen Denken*, *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg I* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922), and *Sprache und Mythos*, *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg VI* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1925).

Naturally, Greek religion is repeatedly discussed during the course of these lectures. In general, one can find little fault with the author's remarks, which may be summed up somewhat as follows. Hellenic religion is, of all religions, most powerfully dominated by anthropomorphism: its idolatry has contributed very largely to the development of the highest art; Greece is the country in which religion and political organization have entered into the most complete union, but without developing into the idea of a theocracy, such as we find in Judaism. On the contrary, the Greek spirit has contributed the idea of universalism to the religious thought of the world. The attribute of justice is tempered in the Hellenic mind by that of mercy. But the chief contribution of the Hellenes to the conception of the deity is that of beauty. In this, Professor Farnell agrees with Thaddeus Zielinski, *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, 62-89 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926).

Of course, numerous details are discussed during the development of the author's theme. Not in every one of these can full agreement be expected. Thus, the

statement (14) that "a small class of divine appellatives which are directly transferred from the worshipper, to whom they properly belong, to the deity by a curious motive of religious myth" must be corrected by the statements of Beth, *Religion und Magie*, 242-251, and also by those of Cassierer, *Begriffsform*, 16-22, and *Sprache und Mythos*, 54, 55.

There are many more places in which the author challenges contradiction, or, at least, causes the reader to question his statements. But for such a discussion a review does not seem the fitting place. It might also be very fruitful to compare Professor Farnell's ideas of the development of religious feeling among the Greeks with those recently set forth by Martin P. Nilsson in *Chantepie de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2.280-417 (Tübingen, Mohr, 1925). The two scholars agree in ascribing to the Hellenes the greatest development of a clear-cut anthropomorphism and the most complete union of religion and political organization. But, while Farnell professes to see in this phenomenon a lasting contribution to the higher development of religion, Nilsson sees here rather the sources of the weakness of Hellenic religion and the reason for its final dissolution. The idea of beauty, which Farnell judges to be the greatest and most characteristic element that Greece has contributed to the content of the idea of God, Nilsson does not touch upon at all.

Every classical scholar, finally, ought to read the book for himself. How much he will accept or reject of its statements depends, in the last analysis, upon his own individual conception of the deity. But nobody can fail to be stimulated by the book, which is certainly one of the best that has come from the pen of the author of *The Cults of the Greek States*.

HUNTER COLLEGE

ERNST RIESS

Mystic Italy. By Michael I. Rostovtzeff. New York: Henry Holt (1927). Pp. xxii + 176. \$2.50.¹

<In the study of> the sacred mysteries which played a highly important rôle in the ancient religious life of the Greco-Roman world . . . Texts and inscriptions have occupied scholars' attention rather more than the monuments, for they are easier to interpret, and indeed their interpretation is a necessary preliminary for any certain understanding of the latter. But the present book offers "an analysis of certain monuments of Pompeii and of Rome which reflect mystic tendencies in the population of these two places during the early Roman Empire". . . . The introductory chapter deals with the religious ferment of the Roman world in the early empire; the other two are given to Pompeii and Rome respectively.

The chief Pompeian monuments here elucidated are the wall paintings of the "Villa Mystica", discovered a few years ago not far from the Porta Ercolanense and

the "Homeric" house of the "strada dell' Abbondanza". In the sitting room of the former were found certain pictures which scholars agree are connected with the Dionysiac mysteries. Rostovtzeff, however, can not join with those who see in these "seven consecutive acts of a Dionysiac mass held on the occasion of the initiation of a new *mysta*", but he believes rather that the scenes were intended to remind the initiated and the neophyte of mythical precedents of initiation, to recall the experiences of some divine *mystae*, and to exhibit some of the principal symbols of the Dionysiac religion. . . . The original decoration of the underground triclinium in the "Homeric" house also showed seven scenes which likewise appear to Rostovtzeff to represent ritual acts belonging to the mysteries of Dionysus.

The third chapter on Mystic Rome is chiefly devoted to the wall decorations of the Villa Farnesina, . . . and to the so-called underground "basilica" outside the Porta Maggiore, discovered in 1917. The former monuments, reinforced by other evidence . . . indicate that the Eleusinian and Dionysiac mysteries were popular among the upper classes of Italy in the first century A. D. The basilica . . . was apparently the meeting-place of some religious sect, probably of a group of Pythagoreans. In his interpretation of the decorations of this structure Rostovtzeff follows in general Carcopino whose book *La Basilique Pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, published a year since, has thrown much light on this extraordinary building.

. . . this little book contains no less than thirty-four plates, many of which exhibit two scenes each.

. . . Doubtless the author has now found part of that analysis of religious tendencies prevailing in the city of Rome in the first two centuries after Christ which he says he has sought in vain in La Piana's interesting study: "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1927, which is of prime importance for the religious history of the city of Rome in the early Christian centuries.

<HARVARD UNIVERSITY>

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The first Luncheon Meeting of The New York Classical Club for 1928-1929 was held on Saturday, November 17, at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University. The change in the meeting-place was welcomed; the Casa Italiana has a more classical atmosphere. Its lecture hall, which seats 300, was almost filled. Miss Edna White, President of the Club, spoke briefly of the principal aim for the year, the establishment of an increased endowment fund. Miss Anna P. MacVay then said a few words about the plans for the celebration of the bimillennial anniversary of Vergil's birth.

Professor John A. Scott, of Northwestern University, was the speaker of the day; his theme was A Generation with Homer. He spoke of the most famous Homeric scholars of the last forty years, all of whom he has known personally. He explained the contribution made by each scholar he mentioned. The unusual nature of Professor Scott's talk, especially its personal touch, made it delightfully entertaining and instructive.

At the luncheon, held at The Faculty Club, Columbia University, 108 were present.

EDWARD COYLE, *Censor*

¹<When the proofs of this issue reached me at Lexington, Kentucky, I found a blank column on page 104. I was glad to fill the space with a partial reprint, from *The American Historical Review* 34.101-102 (October, 1928), of a review, by a highly competent scholar, of an important book. My memory tells me that in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, Volume 20 or 21, Dr. A. W. Van Buren had something to say about the 'basilica' at the Porta Maggiore. C. K.>.

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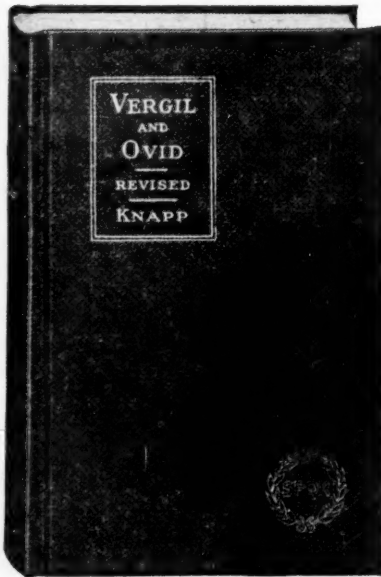
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